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But these visits are unlikely to be merely social and the main purpose of the journey is generally the arrangement of some business. At festivals, on the other hand, kinsmen meet to enjoy one another's company and other considerations are secondary. On the Tuesday after Easter Monday a man often sets off on a journey to a close kinsman living at a distance whom he has not seen during the winter. And after the feast of St. George before the migration to summer pastures there may be a wedding to attend. Later in the year when the Sarakatsani have moved up to the mountain villages of the Zagori there are other opportunities to meet less closely related kinsmen. About the end of July when the impregnated ewes gradually cease to yield milk, there is more leisure for the shepherds to attend the weddings, most of which occur in August and September. Also a number of the villages in the Zagori celebrate in the summer the feast-day of their patron saint. These village feasts (πανηγύρια) last for three days and nights during which there is almost continuous dancing in the village square with much eating and drinking besides. Many Sarakatsani go to these village festivals not only when it is the feast-day of the saint of their own summer village, but also to the celebrations of other villages where they have a kinsman. In the holiday atmosphere they are hospitably welcomed and their company and conversation give pleasure to their hosts. It makes no difference whether visitors are near or distant relatives; the more visitors a family entertains the more its prestige increases. But in addition to these public festivals each Sarakatsan family, or stani, celebrates privately one of the three summer religious festivals which they consider important. These are: the prophet Elias, 20th July, Saint Paraskeve, 26th July, and the Assumption of the All Holy One (The Virgin Mary), 15th August. On these feast-days meat is killed, wine is drunk, and in the larger stanis there is dancing. It is essentially a family celebration but kinsmen, who live in other villages and celebrate a different festival, will come to visit and share in the festivities. These are the various occasions which help to maintain a certain minimal frequency of contact between dispersed kinsmen, although the demands of the sheep prevent any individual shepherd from being present at more than one or perhaps two of these events each year.

But weddings are, undoubtedly, the most significant of these

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Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis"[1] that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

[1] A πούστης is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

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twofold relationship of godfather-godchild and spiritual parent-natural parent.

The sacrament of Baptism, which is immediately followed in the Eastern rite by the sacrament of Holy Chrism or Confirmation, is the spiritual foundation of these social relationships. In the two sacraments the Holy Spirit purifies and recreates the nature of the child, uniting it to the body of Christ and bestowing Spirit upon it. The rite of Baptism marks the acceptance of a soul into the Church, it makes possible the remission of future sins and it releases the individual from the weight of original sin. In the rite of Holy Chrism the Holy Spirit descends upon the person of the newly-baptized. In a simple fashion these things are well understood by the Sarakatsani. If a child dies unbaptized its soul 'goes into the air and is lost'. They think that men require the grace which is initially conferred by the Holy Spirit through these sacraments both to realize the inherent nobility of their manhood (identifying a condition of honour with a state of grace), and for the more pragmatic reason that if the barrier of sin between a man and God is too considerable he will not be able to protect his family against the many forms of catastrophe which threaten it.

In these critical sacraments the child needs a spiritual guardian to stand and answer for him. Since they are related to the child through the act of generation the natural parents are unable to assume this role and, perhaps, for the same reason, they are not present at the ceremony. The godfather (νουνός) receives the child from a member of the family at the door of the church. The service begins with an exorcism of the Devil and the evil spirits of error, wickedness, idolatry, covetousness, lying, and uncleanness, in which the godfather indicates the child's renunciation of Evil, blowing and spitting three times to effect this rejection. The rite of Baptism then begins. The water is blessed in a long prayer and the priest intercedes that the person may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of Him that made him, that he may eventually be a partaker in His resurrection. Olive oil is blessed, the surface of the water is signed with it and the child is anointed with the oil of gladness in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The priest then baptizes the child by a threefold total immersion. The

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851 sacrament of Holy Chrism follows at once. In this rite the child
796 is anointed with chrism, a consecrated unguent of many in-
608 gredients, on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands, and feet; each time the priest says, 'The seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen.' During the service the godfather holds the child.

851 At the beginning of the service the priest asks the godfather
553 the name of the child. Although a father may give some hint of
608 his preference, it is recognized that it is the absolute prerogative of the godfather to name the child. Generally, he follows tradition by naming the child after one of its grandparents or perhaps after the saint on whose day the Baptism occurs. As soon as the name is known small children rush from the church to the home of the parents to give the news and to be rewarded
[551] with small coins or sugared sweets. In the child's home there is always some anxiety until this information is received, for a person's first name is in some peculiar way an important aspect of his individual personality; and it links him, also, to a particular saint to whom he will turn for protection.

851 At the end of the service those who have attended return with
608 the godfather to the child's home where they offer their wishes for long life and prosperity. The godfather hands back the child to the mother and tells her, 'I return the child to you in this life; but I shall ask it back from you in the next. Protect it well from fire, water, and all evil.'

431 There are certain exchanges of gifts between spiritual kins-
608 men. The wedding sponsor makes a not inconsiderable outlay
585 at a wedding. He must give the bride a dress, and a gift of money when he takes his leave at the end of the celebrations; he must provide the wedding crowns, the candles, and sugared almonds, as well as his share of bread, meat, and wine; he must tip the band generously when the bride, the bridegroom, and his close relatives are leading the dance; and he is responsible for the offering to the priest. The sum of these expenses is unlikely to be less than ten pounds. In return the bride gives the sponsor
431 the choicest blanket from her dowry. Later, as the godfather,
608 he is expected to give his godchild a complete set of clothing, a gift which is generally offered when the child is one or two years old. It must be reciprocated by the child's family at the next Easter with the gift of a lamb with fleece dyed red, a round of

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bread, and a new shirt. Each Easter the godfather must send to his godchild a candle to take to church for the service on Easter Saturday, and a red egg. At Easter, the relationship between the godchild and the spiritual parent takes a fresh strength and emphasis when men with repentant hearts are renewing their state of grace, a condition which is made possible for each individual through Baptism.

Bridegroom and wedding sponsor, or natural father and spiritual father, address one another reciprocally as κουμπάρε; the godchild addresses his spiritual father as νουνέ. The very use of these terms of address carry with them an implied pattern of conduct, of duties, and privileges. The quality of the relationship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent is recognized in the prohibition on marriage between members of the two elementary families of marriage of the co-parents. Sexual relations between these persons are incestuous. The joint responsibility of the co-parents for the spiritual condition of the child, not only in their relations to the child but more particularly in their behaviour to one another, is the strength of the relationship. For if the natural or spiritual father of the child employs any sharp or dishonourable practice against the other, 'he destroys the oil' with which the child was anointed and, consequently, his right relation to God. Therefore such actions are wanton and sinful. This heavy responsibility of the natural and spiritual co-parents is consistent with the more significant ritual role that is played by the sponsor-godparent at the Baptism in comparison with his duties at the marriage ceremony. In the latter rite he sponsors a responsible adult, in the former he stands in the place of a small child who cannot answer for himself.

The natural father and the spiritual father must have confidence in one another; they must never quarrel, or gossip about one another's affairs. It is argued that kinsmen by blood are not chosen, consequently it is inevitable that a man will quarrel with some of them. But the duties of spiritual kinship are entered into freely and for this reason spiritual kinsmen ought never to allow any difference of interest to threaten their relationship. Behind this belief are two considerations. The relationship is concerned with critical religious sacraments, therefore the appropriate behaviour pattern ought to follow the ideal of Christian fellowship. On the other hand, it is a relation with a person

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these transactions secret from his cheese merchant but generally with only partial success. In April the shepherds hurry to meet the summer cheese merchants, conclude their agreements, and take an advance on their summer milk which for 200 ewes will be about £30. But this spate of spring revenue is often quickly dissipated in paying the heavy costs of winter pasturage, possibly of more legal wrangles, and sometimes of an Easter wedding. The celebration of Easter also brings its expenses. New shirts and shoes are bought for the family, cloth is sent to the tailors to be made up into new jackets and trousers. For if the family attends the Easter church service in old clothes it loses prestige. Also it is believed that at the service on Easter Saturday night each person ought to wear something that is new, to honour the resurrection of Christ.

About the middle of May the heads of shepherd families visit the merchant to agree with him the statement of their accounts. Money advances and the value of the flour issued are balanced against the value of the milk delivered to the cheese-making station. In an average year the result is generally a small profit or loss for the shepherd of perhaps £10 which is added to, or subtracted from, the total debt owed to the merchant. But in bad years when the grass has been poor, or many ewes have not produced lambs, the loss may be more substantial and this the merchant must bear if he does not want to force his client into selling his stock. If the shepherd is in difficulties, he may seek a further loan before leaving the plains. When the merchant grants this favour, the shepherd must accept a slightly lower price for his milk in the coming winter, about a farthing an 'oke' less than whatever proves to be the ruling rate for the next season.

When the shepherd arrives in his summer village in Zagori, he will generally have some money in his pocket. He immediately pays off the greater part but not all of the debt which in most cases he left behind in the village shop the previous autumn. This may amount to £20–£30 in some instances. Having paid off part of this debt he is in a better position to ask for credit later in the summer when he may again become short of cash. In the same way he will pay off some of his debts to winter shopkeepers when he first reaches the plains in the autumn.

At the end of July the shepherd takes the balance of his

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her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the community probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic techniques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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# XI

# THE VALUES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF

## 1. GOD AND SIN

I DO not propose to discuss in any detail the ritual practices of Sarakatsan religious life, nor the peripheral complex of magic techniques which are sometimes linked to religious beliefs and sometimes not. My purpose is to indicate the general character of Sarakatsan religious conceptions and to show in what way a form of Christian belief may co-exist with the values of honour and prestige that were examined in the previous chapter.

In certain respects the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Greek Orthodox Church, as an institution, is tenuous. They have never been regular churchgoers. Before 1938 their huts were often far from villages and few adult men and women would have been able to escape from the imperative routines of family and flocks to make the long journey over difficult country. And since they have come to live in or near the villages, the almost open ridicule and contempt of the villagers have discouraged the Sarakatsani from altering this traditional pattern.

When a Sarakatsanos goes to church he normally does so with the intention of taking Holy Communion, and this he ought to do, preferably, twice a year. During Easter week almost every man, woman, and child in the community will find a means of attending one of the services, and the majority will discover an opportunity to communicate again later in the year on the feast day of the Assumption of the All Holy Mother of God on 15th August, or at Christmas, or at one of the other more important festivals of the Church.

The Eucharist, in the simple way that they understand it as the sacrifice of Christ's blood which overcomes the barrier of sin separating man from God, is the central belief of Sarakatsan religious life. Otherwise, when they attend a service they understand nothing of the structure of the liturgy, they do not know that the liturgy is a symbolic representation of the life and sacrifice of Christ. Only the shorter and more frequently

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On the other hand, the partiality of the Mother of God has a basis of compassion rather than competition. Her importance, as an intercessor, is her humanity. The idea of her immaculate conception is quite foreign to the Sarakatsani (as also generally to Orthodox theology). The miracle of the Mother of God is that she is one human being who, through an act of her own faith and will as well as the grace of God, has entirely conquered sin despite her human condition. The iconography of the Church shows her self-discipline, her compassion, a person of her sex but drained of its sensuality. For the Sarakatsani Eve and Mary are the two opposed images of Woman. Her humanity and compassion allied to her Holiness makes her the perfect intercessor between man and God. Moreover, the Sarakatsanos, thinking as he necessarily does in terms of his own social forms, finds it natural and sensible that as God's grace to men comes through Christ, men should seek benefits from God through the Mother of the Son. For she is approachable and has influence with her Son. The parallel with earthly systems of patronage is clear.

The All Holy One is naturally the eternal image of motherhood. And although petitions to her are of every kind, prayers for a sick child are especially directed to her. It is felt that however sinful the mother of the sick child may be the Mother of God must feel compassion for her. A man may call directly on his God to protect him in danger but suddenly faced with the horror or shock of some loss, great or trivial, it is the Mother of God who is invoked, Παναγία μου. For the Sarakatsani she is, above all, the comforter (Παρηγορίτισσα). She, too, has experienced loss. And it is to her that the sinner appeals to turn aside the just wrath of God.

The two Saints most popular amongst the Sarakatsani are St. George (feast-day 23rd April O.S.) and St. Demetrius (feast-day 26th October O.S.). These feast-days both punctuate the seasonal calendar at critical moments, in each case just before one of the two annual migrations; both Saints are generally concerned with pastoral life and both are warlike, horsed and armed. On all counts they suit the Sarakatsani admirably. 'We honour them because we are like them', the Sarakatsani say.[4] To St. George especially they are attached, and petitions

[4] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλζ'

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776 782 about diseases of the sheep, pleas to soften the heart of a merchant who will not grant a desperately needed loan are very often made to this Saint. On his feast-day a lamb is always killed in his honour by every family except the very poorest, an honour which is generally only accorded to Christ at Christmas and Easter, and to the Mother of God on the feast of the Assumption (15th August). 'All the Saints look for us to sacrifice a sheep to them', the Sarakatsani explain, 'but St. George protects us'. Sarakatsani respect all the Saints but the only others chosen for particular attention are the Prophet Elias whose chapels are on hill-tops and who is associated with the mountains and the wilderness, St. Theodore another mounted warrior hero, and St. Paraskeve. Individuals, of course, sometimes turn to the Saint whose name they bear and to other Saints who are known to possess specialist powers.

776 782 778 If a man has a very important favour to request from a Saint (or the Mother of God), he will not be content to present it before his own icon of the particular Saint. He will worship before the icon of the Saint in a church, preferably a church or chapel dedicated to him. And in exceptionally serious matters he may not be satisfied with presenting his prayer to the icon of the Saint in his own village if he knows of an icon of the same Saint elsewhere which has a reputation for greater efficacy. The icon is not simply an image which serves to remind the worshipper of spiritual realities, it is a material object in which he believes divine energy is localized. He believes that if he approaches this manifestation of the Saint's power with a 'good heart' and a suitable offering, he will help. He agrees that it is the one Saint present in all his icons but he insists that one revelation is more efficient than another. In these ideas we see the refraction which even divine energy suffers when it enters the material and sensible world.

776 782 A suppliant asks of his intercessor favours which are often very specific and material. In return he makes some offering to express his respect and attachment to the Saint; he may also vow a further gift if help is granted. A Sarakatsanos feels free to bargain with a Saint in a way that would be unseemly towards God. The thought here is that even a Saint is open, in some sense, to flattery and honours. He cannot be displeased that he is honoured with more offerings of one kind or another

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separating barrier of sin which was the original work of the Devil and Adam. The first of these terms reflects the sanctity of Christ, the second His concern for the well-being of men; both refer to His life under the limitations of the human condition. In their own experience the Sarakatsani see the reflection of the sufferings of Christ. From the moment of His birth He was persecuted and humiliated, yet He did not lose dignity or nobility. Nor in similar circumstances, the Sarakatsani believe, do they. 'Christ is our brother', they sometimes say. He made the first shepherd's flute (φλογέρα). He rounded up the wild goats, beasts of the Devil, and tamed them by placing His seal on the joints of their forelegs. He stands always by their side. They have only to think of Him and make the sign that recalls His sacrifice. Similarly, they believe that the Sarakatsani have always been the followers, worshippers, brothers of Christ. When the gipsy forged the five nails of the crucifixion for the Jews, it was the Sarakatsanos who stole one and drove it up the offending blacksmith's behind.

Christ is the key figure in Sarakatsan religious belief, and the events of the 'Great week' of Easter are the transcendent experiences of religious life. These I shall not attempt to describe in detail, but something must be said of the dramatic atmosphere which makes this complex of rites and customs quite unlike any others in the religious calendar. Normally villagers are exceedingly casual in church, and even the Sarakatsani, who are more devout in the outward respect they show to sacred objects, are quite pragmatic in their attitude and remarks about religious affairs even when they are anxiously presenting an important petition. In contrast, the dramatic intensity of emotion which seizes the community both in church and outside during this week makes an immediate impression on the observer. There is an air both of anxiety and anticipation. The historical events which the liturgy commemorates on the different days of the week are not treated as such. They are re-lived, people participate in them. They know what will happen, He will rise again; yet they are anxious. The women discuss the events in the present or perfect tense as they would the local gossip at other times. As the drama proceeds the women in chorus make their simple and troubled comments, 'They have seized Him', 'He is being judged',

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'Now they are crucifying Him'; and finally, at the critical moment of the service on Easter Day, 'Christ is risen'.

The Liturgy on the Thursday has a particular sanctity and significance for this is the day on which Christ is placed on the cross. The older women, particularly the grandmothers who may die during the year, together with the younger children, always communicate on this day; for the Communion which is received on the Thursday 'lasts' for a year. They take with them to the church a sack filled with the various apotropaic substances, some of which will be put into the phylacteries of the children while the remainder is an armoury of divine energy with which the family is able to face and defeat the Devil during the coming year. This sack, which is for 'the living', is blessed and read over by the priest and taken back to the huts. They leave with the priest a second sack which is for 'the dead'. This contains boiled wheat (κόλλυβα), incense, candles, wine. For on this day the Sarakatsani believe that the souls of the dead return to earth. As soon as the older women and children return from church, the younger women knead the dough and bake small breads (ψυχούδια). These are at once taken together with cooked beans and wine and are given to all the neighbouring families, who receive them, one for each person, with an expression of hope that God may forgive the sins of the dead. In this way is symbolized the union of the quick and the dead and their mutual forgiveness of trespasses committed.

On Good Friday the intensity of emotional feeling is scarcely bearable. The effigy of Christ is taken from the cross and placed in the representation of the tomb which is carried round the village and returned to the Church as to the sepulchre. During this service the atmosphere is heavy with grief; tears stream down the faces of the women. Before 1950 the Sarakatsan women used to make their own representations of the tomb and the body of Christ which three of them guarded throughout the day, their black scarves low over their faces, silently weeping, while one of them intoned monotonously the dirge of the Mother of God for her only Son.[1] Finally, the service which begins after midnight on the Saturday is a transformation of joy and exaltation. Christ who was crucified is risen again.

[1] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρξβ'.

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The root of the involvement of the Sarakatsani in these dramatic happenings lies in the simple belief constantly reiterated, especially by the women on the Friday, that 'he died for us'. They identify themselves with the sufferings of Christ because He has identified Himself with them. In becoming a man like themselves He asserted the essential nobility of man. In His death, His blood effected a union between man and God which overcame the separating barrier of ancestral sin. His resurrection has for the Sarakatsani the paradoxical significance that He lives to die again; for, particularly in the events of the Great Week each year, and more generally in the sacrament of the Eucharist, He continually performs the miracle anew. In the cry, 'Christ is risen', is the knowledge that His liberating blood will always be at hand to save men from abandonment to the Devil.

The role of Christ in this situation, like those of the Mother of God and the Saints in the everyday cult, is that of intercessor. But in this instance the act is on the cosmic scale, not merely a partial and external relationship effected by a Saint between a particular individual and God. It is the reconciliation of all men to God and to one another. The fitness of Christ for this role lies in his origin from God the Father on the one hand and His human mother on the other. 'He was a man, then, like us' it is said both in folk tales and in comment upon the events of His life. From His mother the divine Son of God took on a condition in all respects like that of man, except that through His virgin birth he remained outside sin. Born of a virgin, a virgin in His life, it needed the sacrifice of a Being, divine, human, exposed to sin yet untouched by it, to bring man and God together.

The Sarakatsani understand well the efficacy of virginity. It is a condition which, temporarily at least, defies the corruption of age and death. As it has been suggested in the discussion of prestige values, the time of moral excellence in a man's life is the period of youthful manhood before his marriage, when he is free to live by the ideal standards of honour and when, also, he is ignorant of the sexuality of woman which is one consequence, in a world of sin, of the division of humanity into two sexes. As the virginity of the Sarakatsan youth or maiden is a partial and individual attempt to deny the consequences of

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sexuality, so the virginity of Christ suppresses in His person this fundamental division of humanity.

But men are also divided from God and from one another by their mutual envy. This disunion is a more subtle form of corruption which few men attempt or are able to resist. It requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood to redeem this condition and to establish, even briefly, the ideal of the brotherhood of men that makes possible a full communion between man and God. That in their own social experience only an unmarried brother would make this sacrifice of life and blood confirms in the minds of the Sarakatsani the role of Christ as the archetypal brother, in a transcendent sibling relationship where only identification, and never rivalry, finds a place.

The idea of Christ's brotherhood implies, at least, the brotherhood of the Sarakatsani of Zagori, and by extension (though less certainly) the brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks. Christ sacrificed Himself not for one but for all. Not the least miracle of Easter is the measure of social goodwill. There is an easy warmth of greeting and attitude between unrelated men which is entirely foreign to the tense aggressiveness that is the formal idiom of social life at other times. On Easter Monday each family visits, and is visited by, all the Sarakatsan families who live within easy walking distance, whether they are kinsmen or not. Except at the summer festival celebrated by each family (very often the feast of the Assumption) this is probably the only occasion during the year that a man penetrates into the home and receives the hospitality of another unrelated shepherd. On the Saturday of Easter instead of delivering their milk to the cheese merchant the Sarakatsani give it away to villagers or the poorer families of their own community. These simple gestures that might be unexceptional in other communities are an impressive reversal of normal attitudes. The union of men in Christ is reflected at the level of social relations in an expression of ideal solidarity which for a moment breaks down the barriers which isolate family from family and community from community. At other times, the notion that all the ills of the world derive from the view that every man is concerned only for his own family is constantly asserted, and as often deplored. There is always a yearning for unity and goodwill in the community, but it is a yearning accompanied by the knowledge that it can never be.

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The Sarakatsani seldom communicate more than twice a year. The most important of the possible occasions for taking communion is, naturally, Easter. It must be stressed that this communion is for the Sarakatsani not something which is taken or received 'at' Easter, it is an integral part, the climactic happening of the week's events. During this time they have watched Christ suffering, they have identified themselves with Him as He in His sacrifice has identified Himself with them. At the end of it all the miracle happens, Christ rises from the dead and they in His blood partake of the life which He has poured out to unite them again to the Godhead.

One can discern three, as it were, related 'indulgences' which Sarakatsani believe are conferred upon them through communion. First they are released from sin. Sarakatsani are not oppressed by a sense of personal sin and indeed, as we have seen, the list of transgressions which constitute personal sins is not imposing. But they are very conscious of the sinful condition of the limited world in which they must live and in which the nobility of men is, to some degree, inevitably compromised. This sinful infusion into human nature, the inevitable meanness of everyday life, depresses their spirit in a very literal sense, it turns their thoughts from God to material things and against their fellow men. 'We are all sinners' they often say with a dispirited shrug of the shoulders. These uncomfortable sentiments are banished by the regenerating blood of Christ. As my friend Aristoteles left the church, he smiled and said, 'A weight has left me' (μοῦφυγε ἕνα βάρος). In saying this he was not referring to personal sin.

The second of these indulgences conferred by communion is that it both expresses the transcendent ideal of the union of all men in Christ and it gives an opportunity, all too fleeting, for unrelated men to show goodwill towards one another. As I have said, the yearning for union with other men is always present but it is inevitable inhibited by attitudes of pride and distrust.

The third indulgence is more pragmatic. By removing the barrier of sin which interrupts the communion between men and God, Christ's sacrifice makes it possible for men to draw down divine aid for their protection in this life against the attacks of the Devil, the envy of other men, and in their struggle

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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for physical survival. A man's state of grace is never static, always dynamic. He strains towards God but is ever pulled downward by the weight of the human condition of sin; yet periodically the saving grace of Christ's blood allows him again to approach nearer to God.

The receipt of the sacrament is not a passive act. Men must give some pledge of their will to turn to God. At the greater religious festivals, Christmas, Easter, St. George, the feasts of Assumption and St. Demetrius, when they may communicate, Sarakatsani sacrifice a lamb or sheep (θυσιάζουν, χάνουν κουρμπάνι). Other occasions when sheep are slaughtered are similarly religious as well as social events, weddings, baptisms, or the dedication (τάξιμο) of an animal to a Saint if men or sheep fall sick. Sheep are never killed for meat but only in the form of sacrifice. Preferably the animal should be male and 'clean', that is a lamb, or a ram that has not mounted a ewe. The sheep is believed to know its fate to which it goes quietly and willingly. In describing forms of sheep theft I have suggested that the sheep which support the life and honour of a family have a spiritual as well as an economic value. Of the white Easter lamb they say, 'we bleed it to honour Christ' (τὸ ματώνομε νὰ τιμήσωμε τὸν Χριστό). A shepherd skins a sheep with swift and confident strokes of the knife but his face is strained and concentrated as he cuts into the artery in the animal's neck. With this sacrificial stroke he gives something of himself. The Sarakatsani are conscious of this element of reciprocity. As Christ pours out his blood to open a way between men and God, so the Sarakatsanos pours out the surrogate blood of his sheep to the same end. And since the sheep is the means of establishing a partial relationship between man and God, those who share its flesh are participating in a form of sanctified communion. And, for the same reason, God chooses to communicate intelligently with men through the shadow markings on the shoulder blade and the condition of the liver.

A man must prepare himself in other ways. He must fast for forty days before the beginning of the 'Great Week', and in this matter the Sarakatsani are more strict than many villagers. Olives, cheese, eggs, milk, meat, fish are not eaten. During Easter week itself even bread is abandoned and the

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families live for the last few days on vegetable soup, beans, and coffee. For this week, at least, the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy must be suppressed. The community becomes continent and unrelated men behave towards one another with unaccustomed warmth and goodwill. A man must truly repent his personal sins. Whenever a confessor is within reach, he ought to make a confession of his sins before taking communion. He must approach God with a 'good heart'. In these ways a man to a degree, loosens the hold which material things and the senses hold over him and, in some measure, is purified so that he may receive into himself the divine element. The Sarakatsanos believes that if he is properly prepared ritually and spiritually to receive the sacrament, then his sins are forgiven. The wine he drinks is indeed the blood of Christ (the body is seldom mentioned) and it is considered a sin if any man suffers a fit of vomiting in the 40 days which immediately follow communion. It is also described as a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. Thus the wine is at one and the same time a symbol of the first sacrifice and a material substance in which divine energy exists. It represents, and it is, the blood of Christ.

## 4. SOCIAL VALUES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

At the risk of some repetition, the problem of the opposition of two systems of values, one social the other religious, has yet to be explicitly considered. This community of Sarakatsani, whose coherent and distinctive traditions suggest, in the absence of any certain historical proofs, that it may have existed since, at least, the late Byzantine period, possesses a body of social values based upon a number of simple and unambiguous concepts of honour, strength, prestige and pride. And in the previous chapter I have emphasized the exclusive and particularist form of these social ideals. Yet throughout this period the community has belonged to an Orthodox Christian civilization. Allowing for its primitive material culture and geographical isolation, it has clearly been profoundly influenced by this wider membership as, for instance, even a cursory examination of Sarakatsan wood-carving immediately suggests. Although it is true that the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Orthodox Church, as an institution, has been sufficiently tenuous to result in a popular religious life that is a gross

spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evildoing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

Good and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these pretexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tsellingas'* son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

The approach to Lent, and especially the Saturday night and the early hours of the Sunday before Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *koumbaros*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting
and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered
with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was dis-
covered at last, and during a final mime of tri-
umphant bawdiness, the entire company danced
around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the
dancers alternately banging their noses and their
rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I
would give much to observe.

851 THE feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[794] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
[775] tized. But they are always named at once, and
should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism
on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
[684] adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are un-
known, and should a case of bastardy ever crop
up, death to all concerned is the only remedy.
This is not only for reasons of morality, for these
ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[725] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should
one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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[p.84A]

361 /24 cont./
233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

233 It remains for us to speak of the pastures and of dispositions relating, in a general way, to the feeding of the animals. The examination of this problem will be part of the study of the technology of herding.

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621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

621 The /seasonal/ migrations cause variations of intensity in
233 Sarakatsani social life. The summer encampment, divided in two as
221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks. The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[996] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally, the displacements also involve contacts with the
36 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
197 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of the encounter.

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

(233) --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept
(464) work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

(875) --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

(796) --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

(256) --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are
(286) occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

(656) --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

/166 cont./

596 562 In relation to the men, the women are considered inferior. The dichotomy according to sex, noted with regard to the conjugal family, exists also, in even more pronounced form in the extended family where men and women constitute different groups, separated and arranged hierarchically.

[535] [796] It is not only the division of tasks which illustates and demonstrates this, but all the phases of daily life, such as festivals in which men and women dance separately, and magico-religious practices in which rites are performed which differ according to the sex of the performers.

* * * *

596 882 554 [627] The young men embody the virile element and the pride of the family. They must distinguish themselves by their "spirit," both in difficult moments, as well as during festivals. They are the ones who take charge of the vendetta, and of the defense of pastures against encroachment, flocks against thieves and of the men against bandits. And they are the

[535] ones who will lead the dance, competing with each other in the execution of priouettes and movements full of harmony and masculine ardor. Moreover, there are manifestations of a magico-religious order in which the protagonists are young men, who thus become the movers of forces favorable to the group. Finally, they represent productive forces in their work and, as future husbands and fathers of families, they guarantee the continuity of the lineage and of the family.

596 554 However, for them, too, seniority on the one hand and kinship on the other, represent the criteria by which they are placed in the social heirarchy within this same family framework.

* * * *

596 In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize another significant aspect of the life style of the extended family, which has to do with festivals and with religious and magical practices.

/256 cont./

527 solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats
233 be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life
825 and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict
789 from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or
[574] or disastrous.
[787]

[796] The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while. Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

[114] 24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., p. ϱν' ) but that we ourselves have not encountered.

527 On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day
233 according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)
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[114]

25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief, which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes, a dog, shepherd reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha,

A, /See p.100--Analyst/

/259 cont./

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the latter passes to Rome and from there, in the form of May festivals, to Central and Western Europe: H. Graillot: Le culte de Cybèle, p. 131, Firmicus Maternus: De errore profanarum..., p. 22, E. James: Ibid., p. 189-190 where one finds again a description of the Roman festival Hilaria. For the Semites it is Astarte who is accompanied by Adonis and who plays the same role.--In Greece it is Demeter and the Kora Proserpine and also Hera, protectress of the fertility of women and of the earth:

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ : Βάκχαι, I, 214, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις, II, 17, 8, IX, 8, 1, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ : Ὁ Δαίδαλος ἢ περὶ Πλαταιῶν, 4,

but she is subject to the Olympian Zeus. A separate place must be reserved for Bacchus who in the beginning is only Zeus Couros, god of fertility, not of the vine:

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ : Κρῆτες, Fragm. 475, but also god of spring whose festival is celebrated in Athens in the Anthesteria: M. Nilsson: Geschichte der Griechischen Religion. 1, 547 f.

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[198]

These same ideas survive in the Sarakatsani rites, though submerged in a syncretism with Christianity.

As a matter of fact, Pure Monday (the first day of Orthodox Lent and 40 days before Easter) is an important festival among our herders. When night falls, they light fires near the huts. Only the men perform, the women are content to be spectators. The entertainment starts with a sham marriage, the wife being merely a disguised man. After the so-called celebration of the nuptials the couple retire into a hut for their first night. The others, who drink heavily, start to sing and dance a special dance around the fire, the movements of which consist in touching the ground several times. But the newly married couple go through difficult moments. It seems that the husband becomes impotent and his partner protests; then she leaves the hut and looks among the company for another companion whom

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796 she tries to lead to the hut. Cries, noise and unseemly remarks fill
536 the night. Abruptly the atmosphere changes. The merriment of the wedding turns to mourning. One of the participants is dead. Then they dig his grave, a ditch where they put the deceased, and start to weep in imitation of funeral laments. When the lamentations have ended the deceased comes
[535] out of his grave and, in general rejoicing, they recommence the dancing /which lasts/ until dawn. (33)

[124] 33. The Sarakatsani whom we questioned spoke to us with
[831] great reserve about this festival. It is apparently its
796 sexual character which embarrassed them. Madame Hadjimichali
191 gives us a good description of this rite: Ibid., A. I.
536 ρνη'. Similar practices are found almost all over Greece, according to Professor G. Megas: [illegible], the agricultural population, on the last Sunday /260/ of Carnival and on Pure Monday, give real performances simulating the death and resurrection of a young man designed to induce fertility and abundance; on pp. 95-122, in particular, he cites numerous examples found in Thrace, northern Epirus, Thessaly, Thebes, in the Peleponnesus, at Chios, at Skyros, in Crete. He refers also to the description of the festival in the village of Visyi in Thrace given by Richard Dawkins: The modern Carnival in Thrace /cited in English/, pp. 191-206 which leaves no doubt about the origins and the meaning of the festival. On this same point H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 321 f., referring to the work of K.A. Pomnios: Cultes Populaires de Thrace, tells us that one cannot, on the basis of the scenario of the festival, conclude in favor of a survival of a Dionysian ceremony, contrary to Dawkins and Megas. However, he does not doubt (p. 325) its character, "actually bound up with old fertility rites." As far as the Sarakatsani are
796 concerned, they say that the rite of Pure Monday is performed
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/260 cont./

796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichalé: Ibid., A. I. pp.-

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the [128] women of the Tséligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 182 831 789 [842] [233] [171] Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 789 535 533 539 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

796 /260 cont./
789 and the multicolored viper
535 as a collar around your neck...
533 /261/ May the stones of this house
[539] never loosen
and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

796 The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the
789 one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none
533 other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress
796 of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is
174 not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

796 It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the
789 mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil sub-
796 terranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and
823 must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As
533 for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun,
796 driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same
789 forces, (35)

796 35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski, Ibid., p. 120,
[821] referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures,
[825] pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

791 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
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789 Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/266 cont./

776 religious and the left, magic. The Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, fire
792 pistols during the mass for the resurrection of the Lord by pulling the
776 trigger with the right hand. (48)
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48. See J. Cuillandre: La droite et la gauche dans les poèmes homériques.

Firing a shot with the left hand is a "contrary" movement reserved for the demon who is a "contrary" being; according to the explanations of our herders, the true, the beneficent way is represented by the right hand.
776 Finally, the detonation which frightens men and animals, also terrifies
789 the bad spirits by an analogy intensified and guided by the "contrary" gesture. (49)

49. That noise has warding-off properties is a belief
[751] that goes all the way back to antiquity. Noisy objects were given to children to amuse them, but equally to protect them; see J.H. Harrison: Thémis, p. 17, footnote 4.

776 To these components of Sarakatsani "demonology" are added other categories of evil spirits, the most fearsome among them is Daoutis. (50)

50. See also the description by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. p. ϕμα'

[791] The demon Daoutis also figures in the mythology of shepherds throughout continental Greece.
776 This abominable being can take various shapes, such as half billy-goat,
233 half donkey, etc., and swoops down on the flocks at night. He mates with the females and transmits a fatal disease (anthrax) to them. His attack is accompanied by noise, cries and sardonic laughter that makes the blood of the terrorized shepherds run cold. Several hours later his victims begin dying by the dozen.

776 Preventive as well as curative measures are taken against him. In
233 a corner of the sheepfold is placed salt, incense and a piece of liturgical
789 bread blessed at church. With /267/ pitch a cross is drawn on the fore-

/321 cont./

789 182 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 182 462 562 796 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect. We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of [776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it [831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude, [291] word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitates immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 562 462 233 791 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts: it is the women who apply to the richtologos to ask for his exorcisms; and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,

3: Kabbadias--375 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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# CHAPTER II

## RELIGION AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

771 121 The Sarakatsani are Christians under The Orthodox Church. The study of their official religion is not within the scope of this work. What merits analysis here is their interpretation of the teaching of the Church, that is, their way of applying Christianity to the conditions of their life.

771 128 This interpretation appears: first, in their way of celebrating certain religious festivals; second, in their funeral customs; third, in their religiosity and in the nature of their religious feeling.

The present chapter will be organized around these three aspects. Our account will conclude with some remarks on the social dynamics of religion among these nomads.

### RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND PRACTICES

796 771 The difference between the offical interpretation of Christianity and that introduced by the Sarakatsani appears in the celebration of the festivals of Christmas, St. Basil (New Year's Day), Epiphany, St. Lazarus, Holy Week and Easter, St. George, St. Demetrius and certain other saints of whom we shall speak in due time.

(182) The principal aim of the ritual followed in connection with these festivals is to appeal to the beneficent influence of religion and cause it to intervene favorably in life. Religion represents forces: it is fitting to profit from them.

771 789 182 178 We rediscover here the fundamental conception that dominates Sarakatsani magic. More than that. The study of concrete facts will show that certain ideas determining magic practices survive in religious practices, but this time "Christianized." Thus, between the magic and the religion of our herders there is a certain continuity, a common threshold which insures passage /326/ from one to the other, without, however, denying the originality of each. However, the participation of

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771 789 182 178 representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

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796 [178] The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

796 788 462 [178] 171 [484] On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours) to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

796 788 783 798 In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement to fertility and abundance.

798 783 In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons, to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

796 The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

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796 takes place the day before (Friday), and the other on the holiday itself. On Friday, at twilight, the boys of each /327/ Tseligato form a group. One of them is chosen to play the role of the saint. He stretches out on the ground, his eyes closed, his hands crossed on his chest; he represents the dead saint. His companions then lift him up and start making the rounds of all the hits. They stop in front of each door, deposit "Saint Lazarus" on the ground, and sadly sing of his death. When the tour of the huts is finished, the group disbands. The next 796 795 (532) morning the boys gather anew and go to the fields to gather flowers. Afterwords they make a figurine out or pieces of wood, dress it like an infant and cover it with the gathered flowers. This figurine represents (533) the infant Lazarus reborn. The boys recommence their tour of the huts, singing joyous tunes, rejoicing in his resurrection; the women give them sweets and eggs. The symbolism of this scene is identical with that of the "pure Monday" dance. The death and resurrection of Saint Lazarus, "the friend of the Lord," here take on the meaning of the periodic regeneration of nature; they are therefore put at the service of fertility. The simulated death of the young man, his rebirth in the form of an infant, the gathered flowers, the eggs which contain life, etc., leave no doubt about the accuracy of this interpretation. (1)

1. K. A. ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ : Αὐλαὶ Ἀετῶν..., p. 166, note 1. — Γ. ΜΕΓΑΣ Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί, p. 148.

(191) --It is a custom found almost everywhere in Greece.

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Maundy Thursday is a day of extreme importance in the popular religion of Greece, on the one hand, because in church "the twelve gospels" are read, recounting the arrest, the judgment and the crucifixion of the Lord, and on the other hand, on account of the belief "that the souls of the dead, freed by the descent of Christ into hell, rise up on Maundy

/327 cont./

796 Thursday and move about among the living until Pentecost." Sarakatsani
795 women at that time prepare two bags which they carry to church. The
796 first, "intended for the living," is filled with various objects which
795 must be blessed--tsandiles, small bells, salt, incense, wool of black
789 sheep, painted eggs, wax candles, etc.; it is placed beside the altar
[769] (hiéron) during mass. The second /bag/, intended "for the dead,"
is filled with bread, kolyva (the pastry of the dead made with boiled
grain), wine, incense, etc.; it is handed over to the parish priest so
that he will conduct a /328/ service for the dead of the family who, as
we have said, are present on this day. The bag intended for the living
is the more one interesting for this part of our analysis. The objects
it contains show the significance of the practice. They are divided
into two categories: those that represent the economic life of our herders;
those that are destined for spiritual use, so to speak. All these
objects will be blessed during the service. Thus, prosperity is assured,
since dairy production (symbolized by the tsandiles) and herding (small
bells) are blessed; the same is true for births, or rather fecundity,
symbolized by the egg. It is necessary to give some details pertaining
[797] to the egg of Maundy Thursday. It is an egg laid that very day by a black
[531] hen (a color which is presumed to have occult properties). Before being
brought to the church it is decorated all over with sinuous designs
symbolizing the snake, hence fecundity. The other objects are used for
making amulets (salt, incense) or to drive off evil spirits (wax candles
that are lit during the exorcisms, etc.).

796 On Good Friday another ritual takes place among the Sarakatsani. On
[188] this day the Orthodox Church holds a service and a procession commemorating
[533] the descent from the cross, the obsequies and the entombment of Christ;
during these the choir sings hymns called "the laments at the tomb" or
[533] eulogies. Now, these nomads organize among themselves a "lament for the

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796 533 [532] [470] [596] 796 178 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then, seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while the members of the Tséligato come, one after another, to prostrate themselves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)

2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of [114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in 796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals 171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. Cf. Β. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ : Ὁ Θάνατος καὶ Χρυσός, pp. 249-253 and the bibliography drawn up by Στ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ — Σ. ΣΥΚΟΒΟΛΑΝΤΗΣ : Ὁ Θάνατος καὶ Χρυσός, p. 161-166.

[796] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation. 771 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform 796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and 171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis, 178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

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771 drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the
796 form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated.
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178 But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic
796 Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among them-
771 selves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p. [illegible]

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does
[793] not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

796 There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from
789 each Tsé́ligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the
[58] Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for
[44] sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than
[65] religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

* * * *

128 The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt
796 here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

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796 128 the ideas implied in the celebration of these festivals.

Observation shows that the postulates and procedures that make 796 possible the magic action, as well as the guiding ideas of their 789 application are present in the celebration of the festivals we have 182 studied. We find here transmissibility, the blessing of the objects contained in the bag of Maundy Thursday and consequently the blessing of production; the opposition of forces (wax candles, salt, incense blessed, which averts evil); purification (sprinkling), representation (the ritual of Saint Lazarus). However, we cannot find here the postulate that forces will not destroy themselves, nor removal, since the religious forces that are involved in the festivals examined are neither destructive nor malicious and there is thus no need to protect oneself from them by acts based on these two postulates. The evocation of forces by magic and by religion are carried out on the same basis (fundamental problems, forces and obscure influences). Contact between man and beast and these forces is established either by mediated contact (symbols) or by representation (concrete example, festival of Saint Lazarus). Hence the principle of homogeneity is likewise found here.

796 811 As a result, the thinking which, in the final analysis, determines the festivals examined, proves identical with that which determines the magical practices relating to the problems cited above.

771 811 177 [773] [789] This similarity is not surprising, for it is basically a question of the same kind of phenomena. Before the Hellenes were Christianized, everything that we have called "myths from which magic drew its inspiration" was part of an earlier religion. Since the objective conditions (state of knowledge, progress of technology, necessity of solving vital problems, etc.) were the same when Christianity was introduced, the part of the new religion called upon to intervene in /331/ the solution of the same problems was interpreted and applied according to the same mental process. Thanks to

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this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

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Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tseligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above

/331 cont./

796 494 554 [188] [252] the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.

[596] /332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 [476] [494] [554] [574] [182] Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 782 494 596 796 [554] This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity, at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles, lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 755 782 [252] [262] In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense, candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

/332 cont./

the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conforming to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.

Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that, in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which we shall speak later on.

The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation, very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces. It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

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765 On the third, ninth and fortieth day after death, and on the day
769 of the first anniversary, there is a solemn commemoration of the deceased. The practices relating to these ceremonies involve, according to the orthodox rite, the preparation of the cakes of the dead, the kolyva (17)

17. A practice which, according to M. Nilsson:
Ἕλλην. Λαϊκὴ Λατρεία. pp. 28-29 goes back to classical antiquity. It is connected with the festival of Anthesteria (third day, festival of the dead).

--grains of boiled wheat put on a plate and covered with sugar--symbolizing the body. They are put on the ground, as we know, the people weep and
[533] sing the miroloia, then they carry them to the church where the parish priest says prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased.

769 Commemoration of the 40th day and of the first anniversary includes a feast served to individuals who took part in the service. On this occasion a lamb is sacrificed. The next of kin do not sit at the table on the 40th day, /341/ but participate at the anniversay feast. If the dead person was the father of a family, a loaf is prepared which the eldest son, at the time of the feast, must place on his head and break, saying: "May God grant my father forgiveness." The commemoration feasts
[533] are always accompanied by miroloia.

The Sarakatsani do not forget their dead. If they find themselves in
[765] a locality near the cemetery where their dead are buried, it is customary, at least during the first weeks of mourning, for the women to go there at twilight to weep on the grave while uttering heart-rendering cries.
769 Moreover, the days consecrated to the dead by the Church (the two
796 Saturdays before Lent, Saint Theodore, etc.) kolyva will be prepared
[784] for all the deceased of the family. On these days it is forbidden to wash
[302] one's head and comb one's hair, this action inviting death to get tangled
[515] up in the hair of the living and strike someone!
[761]
[796]

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769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoudia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
(783) distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
(341) term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
(838) have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
(515) those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
(596) preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute /the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

(178) Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoudia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoudia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to
(782) disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
(775) the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

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761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 951 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

## SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY

791 ## AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

353 798 On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

791 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

474 554 688

791 796 479 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

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Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., 1 107.

and Madame Hedjimichali, (19)

Fig. 103

/347 cont./

771 Lord and not that of the Trinity; that they recognize
776 as saints only those of the male sex whom they
114 elevate to the rank of deity. We believe that no
fact relative to their lives permits one to accept
771 this theory. Madame Hadjimichali gives as justifi-
776 cation, on the one hand, the fact that the Sarakatsani
776 honor the Lord exclusively, and on the other hand, that
114 in their calendar of holidays only the Holy Virgin and
191 Saint Paraskevi appear. Now, within the framework of
Christian practices the Lord generally occupies first place
in the countries. This is a universal phenomenon. As
for the holidays of female saints, the lack of which
Madame Hadjimichali finds explained in the androcratic
form of Sarakatsani society which is reflected in their
religion, we find that the calendar of popular holidays
of the Hellenic people, in general, has only five
festivals of female saints. See: G. Megas:
[illegible], index. One therefore sees that this
phenomenon is not specifically Sarakatsani, but that it
comes from the entire Greek religious phenomenon, the more
so since wherever the holidays there are local factors that
that have determined their adoption. All this to establish
the problem of Sarakatsani religion in its true dimensions.
On the other hand, we quite agree with Madame Hadjimichali
when she says (p.[illegible]) that the Sarakatsani remain faithful
to their ancient beliefs, for these ensure them protection.
It is true that official Christianity does not put forward
religious forces to solve practical problems. This explains
syncretism. It is called upon to make up for this lack.

/350 cont./

811 and their magic. But we have not examined it systematically. It is
[128] appropriate now to present some of the aspects of their knowledge which have remained in shadow and which, together with what has gone before, will permit a view of the totality of the problem.

* * * *

805 A first category of knowledge deals with the measurement and division of time, by calendar and by the clock.

[177] In a general way the Sarakatsani follow the calendar of surrounding
805 society. However, among them the year is additionally divided into
221 two major periods determined by the seasonal migrations: the period of
233 the "plains" (chimadiá) and that of the "mountains" (psilomata). Phases in the life of the livestock likewise determine and characterize certain periods of the year. Thus the Sarakatsani refer to the "time of fecundation" (markalos), the "time of birth" (ghénnos), the "time of milk" (ghálata--the period when milk is abundant), the "time of shearing" (kouros), the "time of rotation" (arádhia--the period when milk production has become minimal and when each of the participants of the Tséligato takes turns milking all the ewes for his own use).

805 These divisions of the year, dictated in the end by work, are used along with the divisions into months and weeks. But it is obvious that the first have a "human" depth much more important than the second.

805 The religious holidays also represent some salient points that serve
796 as a pivot for the temporal placement of various events and phases of life. The anniversaries of Saint George and Saint Demetrius, for example, determine respectively the beginning of the period of summer and that of winter.

805 The movements of the sun, the moon and some stars or constellations
821 serve, in turn, as a clock for the Sarakatsani. While during the day the height of the sun in relation to the horizon marks the hours, during